

**Asian-American Civic and Political Participation in Boston Enclaves:  
The Role of Resources and Community Organizing.**

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Abstract

Asian Americans in the selected Boston enclaves are increasingly active in multiple modes of civic and political participation. But there is quite a distance for them to catch up with the rest of the population. Having more resources in the form of financial and human capital would enhance Asian American participation, as well as narrow the gap with the rest of the population. The pattern of Asian American community organizing varies with the needs of the individual enclaves. The more resourceful enclaves focus on cultural and spiritual enrichment alone, but they may provide significant leadership to other communities with fewer resources. The less resourceful enclaves balance the two with providing social services and a voice to help the community participate more fully in the economic and political affairs of the larger society. The lack of resources in community organizing can be offset by favorable public policies as in the case of Cambodian Americans in Lowell and Lynn. The case of the city of Boston demonstrates that active organizing at the collective community level may stimulate various forms of individual Asian American civic and political participation to a point far beyond the prediction based on the financial and human resources in the enclave.

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## Introduction

The last two decades of the twentieth century have witnessed the tremendous growth of Asian Americans in the United States. This growth inevitably results in demands for accommodating the needs of this segment of the population. As the number of Asian Americans is unlikely to be high enough to make them a significant minority population like African Americans or Hispanic-Latinos, except in a few California cities, much work is necessary to call attention to the needs of Asian Americans, especially amidst the model minority stereotype. The responsibility to improve the lots of Asian Americans then rests on Asian Americans themselves, especially in local communities.

In metropolitan areas, Asian American settlement has undergone similar migration pattern as the general population. The first wave of immigrants typically concentrates in central city areas that have evolved into neighborhoods like Chinatowns in major U.S. cities. As economic conditions of these immigrant families improve, and housing costs in central cities increase, they begin to move away from the central cities to neighboring municipalities or more land abundant suburban areas. As more Asian Americans move to suburbs, these areas may become a magnet for other Asian Americans to move in, bypassing the transitional settlement in the central city. Chung (1995) argues that as Asian Americans disperse into areas outside the central cities, the settlements become separate heterogeneous enclaves rather than internally cohesive and homogeneous communities.

This paper examines the pattern of civic and political participation among Asian Americans in the more populous Asian American communities in the Boston area. Most studies on Asian Americans use ethnic subgroups as the definition of communities. If Asian American activism is a localized phenomenon, then a study focusing on Asian Americans in different geographic communities may shed light on the pattern of activism and plausible factors accounting for any difference among these communities. In the Boston area, the numerous Asian American communities with diverse socioeconomic background may provide sufficient variability to address some of these issues. There

are indications that community organizing in Asian American communities is prompted by specific issues in relation to the larger population --- for instance, education equity issues (Kiang, 1994), or land use issues (Leong, 1997). The important question is whether these initial organizing can be sustained and evolve into more institutionalized and proactive efforts in community organizing and, eventually, promote Asian American participation in the democratic governance process.

The research question here is whether Asian Americans in communities with more financial and human capital are more active politically than their counterparts in other Asian American communities with lower level of the same resources. Information for this research is obtained from a variety of sources; from conversations with community leaders, participant observation, existing studies, to publicly available data --- including the US Census, completed Internal Revenue Service Form 990, various Massachusetts city censuses, campaign contribution data on the Massachusetts state government website, and newspaper archives.

The organization of the paper is as follows. The next section discusses the demographic profile of Asian Americans in the selected Boston communities. Then, different levels of civic and political participation among Asian Americans in these communities are introduced. This is followed by a discussion on the extent of community organizing as seen in existing Asian American organizations, an overview of some features of community organizing efforts in three Chinese American communities, as well as the election of Asian Americans to local political offices. The last section will conclude with some general observations.

### The Asian Americans of Boston

Eleven Boston area communities are chosen for this study based on their high percentage and large number of Asian American residents in the 2000 US census, including city of Boston, Brookline, Cambridge, Lexington, Lowell, Lynn, Malden, Newton, Quincy, Randolph, and Somerville. The

selected 11 communities account for more than 53 percent of Asian Americans living in Massachusetts. Residents of Chinese descent constitute the single largest ethnic group (35 to 70%) in 9 of the cities and towns. Cambodians constitute the majority among Asian American residents in the remaining two cities – Lowell (56.7%) and Lynn (53.2%). Among Asian Americans, all the 11 cities and towns are more homogeneous than the state as a whole. Asian Americans in Quincy and Newton are the most homogeneous, whereas those in Cambridge, Somerville, and Boston are the most heterogeneous. With 60 to 80 percent foreign born, Asian Americans in all 11 communities have strong immigrant roots.

[ Table 1 about here ]

These Asian American communities experience tremendous population growth in the last decade. The 1990-2000 growth rates of the Asian American population in all 11 cities exceed 45 percent. In two of the newer enclaves, the Asian American population has increased almost 150 percent (Quincy), or close to 200 percent (Malden). Boston, Cambridge, Brookline, Lexington, Newton, and Somerville have a longer history of Asian American settlement than Lowell, Lynn, Malden, Quincy, and Randolph. This group of newer Asian American settlement is located farther away from the city of Boston than the more established Asian American enclaves.

The Chinatown in Boston continues to serve as the center of cultural and entertainment activities for many Asian Americans --- especially Chinese Americans in the Boston metropolitan area. Vietnamese Americans are developing a significant presence in the Dorchester area to the south of Chinatown, especially after the completion of their own community center. Malden and Quincy began as one-step up communities for Asian Americans moving out of the Chinatown area and taking advantage of the public subway system linking Chinatown and these communities.

Asian Americans in Massachusetts in general are both more and less educated than the general population. The percentage of Asian Americans with college-and-above level of education is higher

than the state average. But the same holds for those with less than high school level of education. In terms of English proficiency, proportionally fewer adult Asian Americans in Massachusetts speak very good English and more of them speak little or no English than the rest of the state population who also speak languages other than English. In terms of economic conditions, as measured by per capital income (\$21,542 vs. \$25,952), homeownership (41.0% vs. 61.7%), and poverty status (16.2% vs. 9.3%), Asian Americans in Massachusetts are also less well-off than the general population. These socioeconomic indicators are consistent with the immigrant background of the majority of Asian Americans in the state.

However, the socioeconomic conditions of Asian Americans among the 11 selected communities are quite diverse. To demonstrate this heterogeneity, the socioeconomic conditions can be classified into financial and human capital. Financial capital refers to financial resources available for any endeavor that requires monetary transfer. Human capital refers to the capability embodied in an individual to engage in any endeavor of his or her interest. Financial capital can be measured by income and asset, like an owner-occupied housing unit. Human capital can be measured by one's level of formal education and ability to command English – the language used in society at large. Based on these measures for Asian Americans relative to the state averages, the 11 communities can be classified into high, moderate, and low categories of financial capital and human capital among Asian Americans. Figure 1 shows the relative position of these communities in the financial and human capital matrix. The positions are relative not only among the 11 communities, but also relative to other Massachusetts communities. For instance, the socioeconomic condition of Asian Americans living in Randolph is not only the average of Asian Americans in the 11 selected communities, but also the average of all residents living in Massachusetts. In fact, the levels of Asian American financial and human capital in Randolph are 4 and 5 percent above the state averages, whereas 10 to 50 percent in either direction of the state averages is the range for practically all the other 10 Asian American

enclaves. Based on the measure of socioeconomic condition in this paper, Randolph is a truly one-step up Asian American enclave in comparison with older Asian American communities like Chinatown in Boston. Malden and Quincy are only half-step up enclaves; they share with the traditional Chinatown enclave in either the level of financial or human capital. At the other extreme, Asian Americans in Lexington and Newton are one-step above and beyond not only the average Asian American community, but also the average Massachusetts community. If financial and human capital were perfectly correlated, there would not have been communities located in the High-Low categories. The placement of Cambridge and Somerville in the low financial capital category, in spite of their high level of human capital, can be accounted for by the proportionally higher concentration of Asian Americans who are college students in these two areas --- 48 and 28 percent respectively. Only 4 to 25 percent of Asian Americans in the other 9 cities are college students.

There is an opposite side to the financial and human capital of a community. A community with low level of financial capital is also a community with a high level of low-income related needs. Similarly, a community with a low level of human capital is also a community with a high level of needs to enhance the population's human capital --- including the need to improve the immigrant population's English language proficiency in this case. Asian Americans in the city of Boston, Lowell, and Lynn fall into both of these two categories of needs. Their needs are in par with other Massachusetts communities situated in the same Low-Low category.

[Table 1 and Figure 1 about here]

### Civic and Political Participation

Civic and political participation takes many forms. Because of data availability, this paper focuses on the following forms of Asian American civic and political participation.

1. Filling out city census.
2. Applying for citizenship.

3. Voter registration.
4. Campaign contribution to candidates for political offices.
5. Community organizing.
6. Running for political office.

The boundary between civic and political participation is not well defined. While filling out censuses and applying for citizenship are clearly civic actions, it can be argued that the other four activities are both civic and political. Participation in democratic governance in whatever mode is the civic responsibility of a citizen. Thus, this paper uses the two terms liberally. These six modes of participation have significant difference in terms of the time and money costs, as well as the necessary skills. In other words, the transaction cost of these six modes of participation varies. More specifically, the transaction cost is likely to increase, even monotonically in the order listed above, from filling out census to running for political office. Because of the increasing transaction cost from one activity to another, the intensity of participation is likely to decrease across these modes of participation. Asian Americans, especially those who are first generation immigrants, face particular barriers in moving up the ladder of participation.

### *Civic Participation*

Civic participation precedes more active forms of political participation. In Massachusetts, state law requires that each city and town in the commonwealth conducts annual census of its residents. City census forms are mailed to each household address to be filed out and returned by mail. Participation in annual city census thus becomes the civic responsibility of each household.

Available city censuses record only residents who are at least eighteen years old on the first day of a calendar year and whose household returns the city census. For this study, Asian American names in each of the seven city censuses are separated from the rest of the residents in the same city. Using the 2000 Census for the number of eighteen years and older, the rate of census returns for both

Asian and non-Asian Americans can be calculated for each of the 11 cities. In 2001, on average, about 60 percent of Asian American residents in the selected communities participated in the respective city census, in contrast to the over 90 percent participation rate for the rest of the population in these same cities (Table 2). Among the selected communities, Cambridge, Somerville, and Lowell have lower whereas Randolph, Newton, and Lexington have substantially higher than average Asian American city census participation rate of just over 60 percent. The rate of filling out city census is correlated more with the level of financial capital (correlation = .77) than with the level of human capital (correlation = .38). Asian American city census participation rate is higher in enclaves with higher level of financial capital but about the same level of human capital (Figure 2). The same pattern is not true for different levels of human capital, holding the level of financial capital constant. This is somewhat contrary to intuition. One would expect that filling out a city census would require more human capital (English proficiency and understanding the importance of the city census) than financial capital (cost of stamp to mail the completed census). Two of the communities with the most educated Asian Americans turn out to have two of the lowest participation rates. This paradox could be due to the high turnover rate of the proportionally much larger number of college-age residents in Cambridge and Somerville, 48 and 28 percent respectively. Annual city census forms are usually mailed to households during the first month of a new year when most colleges in the Boston area are not in session. College students spending the vacation at home may have missed filling out the city censuses in these two cities. Compared to other cities and towns, Asian Americans in these two cities also have lower rates of home-ownership, which is one of the measures of financial capital. Homeownership is also an indicator of a resident's commitment to the community where he or she resides. Civic participation like filling out the annual city census may be more likely for committed residents than more transient residents such as college students.

In general, Asian American participation in city censuses is not as active as the rest of the population in all the selected cities, with a range of 10 to 50 percentage point difference. The gap tends to be smaller as one move from lower financial and human capital Asian American communities to higher level ones. Notice that the non Asian American city census return rates for Brookline, Lexington, and Newton exceed 100 percents. Several explanations are possible. There may be significant under-identification of Asian Americans names from these city censuses. Or, significantly more residents complete the three city censuses than the 2000 U.S. census.

[Table 2 and Figure 2 about here]

### *Naturalized Citizenship*

For foreign born residents eligible for citizenship, the naturalization process reflects an individual's deliberate choice to become a legally equal participant in society just as a native born U.S. citizen. Thus, naturalization is also a form of civic participation for the approximately 70 percent foreign born Asian Americans living in the selected Boston area communities. It is more costly to become a naturalized U.S. citizen than to fill out the annual city census. Any resident may fill out the census. Acquiring citizenship for non-US born individuals can be a highly time consuming and financially costly process.

The naturalization rate for Asian Americans in Massachusetts as a whole is 42.2%, very close to the state average of 43.7% for all foreign-born residents. In the census data, foreign-born population includes residents not necessarily eligible for U.S. citizenship like residents holding foreign student or visitor visas. There is also a five-year waiting period before a permanent resident may apply for citizenship. These two factors result in the naturalization rate's downward bias. Although the naturalization rate does not necessarily fully reflect the discretionary aspect of becoming a citizen, useful information can still be extracted. Asian American naturalization rates in the selected communities do not seem to be related to a single composite measure of the communities'

socioeconomic condition. But there is a clearer pattern if either one of the components of the measure is held constant (Figure 2). For communities at a similar level of human capital, foreign-born Asian Americans with more financial capital have higher naturalization rates. But the relationship between naturalization rate and human capital is weaker for Asian American communities at similar levels of financial capital. While Asian American naturalization rates in communities at moderate level of human capital are higher than those in low level of human capital with similar level of financial capital, having the highest level of human capital does not improve the naturalization rate at all. The lower Asian American naturalization rates in Cambridge, Somerville, and Brookline can be attributed to the proportionally larger number of Asian American college students in these areas, many of them are foreign born holding student visas.

#### *Voter Registration*

A recent study of Asian American voting behavior shows that 60 to 90 percent of registered Asian American voters vote in U.S. national elections in the 1990s (Lien, 2001). Thus, the proportion of Asian American registered voters in a community is a good indicator of how active they are in the electoral process as a group. The following discussion is primarily based on the number of registered voters reported in Watanabe and Liu (2002), and updated with recent 2000 census data not available at the time of the report. The information for Newton and Randolph is based on the author's calculation. All registered voter information is based on various city and town censuses in 2001, except for the 2003 Randolph data.

In the 11 selected Boston area cities and towns as a group, about 37 percent of Asian American citizens have registered to vote. The number varies significantly among these communities, ranging from slightly above 26 to almost 60 percent. Plotting the Asian American voter registration rate against the combined socioeconomic status indices of the 11 communities only indicates a weak positive relationship. Breaking down the index into the financial and human capital components

reveals a clearer pattern (Figure 2). Not controlling for either one of the components, Asian American voter registration rate on average appears to increase with either the level of financial capital (36.3%, 36.7%, 41.4%) or that of human capital (30.1%, 35.7%, 45.4%). The latter has a more pronounced positive relationship with Asian American voter registration rate, even after the level of financial capital is held constant. Holding the level of financial capital constant, a greater proportion of Asian Americans in communities with more college and above graduates and more fluent English bilingual speakers has registered to vote. Here, unlike the case of completing the annual city census and the naturalization rate, the voter registration rate is not affected by the presence of large number of students of Asian origin in Cambridge and Somerville, since only U.S. citizens are counted. The positive relationship between Asian American voter registration rate and financial capital is much weaker, especially at both the low and high levels of human capital. In the case of the city of Boston, the relatively high Asian American voter registration rate (34.1%), in comparing with Malden (34.2%) and Quincy (26.5%), may be attributable to the impact of active community organizing among Asian Americans in the city of Boston in the last few decades. Thus, Asian American voter registration depends more on human capital than on financial capital. This also explains the weak relationship between voter registration rate and the one-dimension index of a community's socioeconomic status. A reasonably good command of English and a college education may enable an Asian American citizen to better appreciate the importance of participation in the electoral process --- beginning with registering to vote.

As for political party affiliation, the similarity overshadows the differences across the eleven Asian American communities (Table 2). Party identity among Asian Americans is not strong at all. Between 45 to 70 percent of Asian Americans are Independents – the single largest group among all registered Asian American voters in each community. Between 20 to 40 percent of Asian Americans in these enclaves are Democrats. About 7 to 14 percent are Republicans. Thus, Asian American

registered voters across the board in disregard of human and financial capital, are more likely to be Independents than Democrat or Republicans, in that order. In addition, Asian American registered voters are even more likely than the rest of the population to register as Independents and Republicans, but less likely as Democrats (Table 4).

### *Campaign Contribution*

Financial contribution to political candidates reflects a donor's greater interests in the political process or the election outcome than the average voter. It also requires greater financial capital, even for just a few hundred dollars. Campaign contribution data is obtained from the office of Massachusetts Secretary of Commonwealth website. Two data sets have been released in recent years. One data set covers contributions to six constitutional offices in Massachusetts from 1997 to 2000<sup>1</sup>. The other data set covers contributions to all Massachusetts political candidates running for state offices from 2001 to June 2003. To examine the extent of Asian American contribution to political candidates, Asian American names are separated from the rest of the contributors list. The number of contributions, not donors, is used in this discussion. For both Asian Americans and the rest of the population, multiple campaign contributions for these offices may come from the same donor. For example, from 2001 to 2003, 166 contributions in Boston were made by 116 different Asian Americans, 71 contributions in Newton were made by 38 different Asian Americans, and 68 contributions in Brookline were made by 44 different Asian Americans.

Table 3 and Figure 3 summarize the pattern of Asian American campaign contributions to Massachusetts state offices from the eleven selected communities in 1997 to 2003. Between 1997 and 2000, 400 Asian American contributions, or about 100 per year, were made from the selected eleven cities to the candidates of the six Massachusetts constitutional offices. In the two and a half years between 2001 and June 2003, 450 Asian American contributions, or about 180 per year, were made

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<sup>1</sup> The six Massachusetts constitutional offices are Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Treasurer, Secretary of State, and Auditor. Information for 2000 is available till October and only for 5 of the offices.

from these cities to candidates running for various state level offices. For both periods, the number of Asian American contributions was only slightly more than 1 percent of the total number of contributions to these same candidates. The average amount of Asian American contribution increases from \$146 in 1997-2000 to \$176 in 2001-2003. The average amount of non-Asian American contribution declines slightly between the same periods for the same 11 cities – from \$205 to \$194. Thus, Asian American campaign contributors in these cities are giving closer to what everyone else is giving on average to these candidates for state offices --- 71% in 1997-2000 and 91% in 2001-2003

Comparing Asian American campaign contribution across the 11 selected cities and towns with the single socioeconomic status index does not yield any clear pattern. Examining subgroups of them may be more illuminating (Figure 3). Among communities with moderate or low levels of both financial and human capital, Asian Americans in the city of Boston are more active in campaign contributions than their counterparts in the five communities combined – Randolph, Quincy, Malden, Lowell, and Lynn. In 1997-2000, the number of Asian American contributions in these five cities was only 19 percent of that in the city of Boston, and 36 percent in 2001-2003. These five communities have a combined Asian American population larger than, but a slightly lower voter registration rate than the city of Boston --- 48098 vs. 44345, and 16.2% vs. 19.4%, respectively. One missing variable here is the extent of community organizing. As in the case of voter registration above, the active community organizing in the Asian American community in the city of Boston may have positive impact on campaign contribution. After all, the five communities here are relatively new Asian American suburban enclaves where community organizing is only beginning to pick up in recent years. A subsequent section will address this issue in greater details.

For Asian American enclaves with similarly high level of human capital, Asian American campaign contribution is proportionally more numerous in communities with more financial capital for both the 1997-2000 and 2001-2003 periods. That is, more people in wealthier Asian American

communities contribute financially to political campaigns than those in less wealthy enclaves. Holding financial capital at low or moderate levels, Asian American campaign contributions are proportionally more numerous in enclaves with high level of human capital than those in moderate human capital communities for both periods. English proficiency and formal schooling enhance Asian Americans' appreciation of the financing of a political campaign. Again, the higher contribution rates of Asian Americans in the city of Boston negate extending this relationship to low human capital communities. There is also no clear pattern of relationship between the dollar amount of contributions and financial or human capital. This may be due to the legal limit of individual contribution to no more than \$500, constraining especially the wealthier contributors. The low number of Asian American campaign contributions may also limit the variability of the dollar amount contribution from one individual to another. In Malden, Randolph, Lowell, and Lynn, the number of Asian American campaign contributions is less than 10 for one or both of the 1997-2000 and 2001-2003 periods.

[Table 3, Figure 3 about here]

*Comparing Asian American civic and political participation with the rest of the population in the same communities*

This section puts the three modes of Asian American participation, filling out city census, voter registration, and campaign contribution, in the larger context of the population at large. Ratios of Asian American participation rates relative to the non-Asian American rates are calculated for each of the three modes of activities. Table 4, Figure 4.1, and 4.2 show the comparative results. Earlier discussion has shown that Asian American participation rates in these three modes are positively related to a community's financial capital or human capital, or both, with some exceptions. In 8 of the 11 enclaves, Asian American political participation rates relative to those of the rest of the population decline significantly as the mode of participation requires more human or financial capital, or both

(Table 4). None of the Asian American communities has reached full parity with the rest of the population for any of the three modes of participation.

For each participation mode, the parity ratio appears to increase with higher socioeconomic status. The relationship is stronger locally in one or two clusters of these selected enclaves but much weaker for the 11 enclaves as a whole. Again, controlling for the levels of financial and human capital separately may be more revealing (Figure 4.2). Holding the level of human capital constant, Asian American civic (filling out annual city census) and political participation (voter registration) is closer to the norm of the rest of the population in enclaves with a higher level of financial capital. Boston is the exception. Active Asian American community organizing in the city may have resulted in the community's achieving a level of civic and political participation parity with the rest of the population beyond other Asian American communities of similar levels of either, but not both, human or financial capital. The Asian American campaign contribution parity ratios do not have a clear pattern among communities at the same level of human or physical capital, partly because of the upper limit of contribution and the small number of Asian American contributions. Holding the level of financial capital constant, and treating the city of Boston as a special case for the reasons mentioned above, Asian American civic and, especially, political participation parity with the rest of the population in the same community is closer to the norm in enclaves with higher levels of human capital.

These observations suggest that as Asian Americans acquire more economic and human resources embodied in their education, their employment, and their assets, the level of their civic and political participation may approach parity with their fellow residents in the same communities. The notable examples are Asian Americans in Lexington and Newton, two Asian American enclaves with the highest level of both human and financial capital. Their civic and political participation is the closest to the community norm among the 11 Asian American enclaves, with the exception of city census participation in Randolph. It remains uncertain whether the lack of full parity, even in

Lexington and Newton, is due to the different levels of financial and human capital between Asian Americans and the rest of the population in the same communities, or because Asian Americans are less inclined to take on civic and political responsibility, or some other reasons. The special case of Asian American civic and political participation in the city of Boston demonstrates that active Asian American community organizing may compensate for part, if not all, of the gap due to lower levels of financial and human capital. It is an open question whether community organizing is sufficient to enable Asian Americans, or immigrants and minorities in general, to participate more fully in democratic governance.

[Table 4 and Figures 4.1, 4.2 about here]

#### *Coordinated Civic and Political Participation -- Formal Asian American Organizations*

Filling out annual city censuses, registering to vote or voting itself, and contributing financially to a political campaign are individual level civic and political actions. They are largely uncoordinated like consumers making individual and separate purchase decisions. Civic and political participation may also involve coordinated collective actions of individuals. For instance, forming an organization to pursue collective benefits is the result of intense organizing among those sharing the same interests. Ad hoc activities to advocate for a cause may come and go. Organizing a formal association indicates concerted efforts to carry on community organizing systemically and continuously. Having formal and functional community organizations around also facilitates a more coordinated response when issues come up. Thus, the number of existing Asian American organizations in the 11 Boston enclaves reflects the extent of community organizing in these areas.

Based on the 2001 Massachusetts Asian Pacific American Directory (AARW, 2001) and a data base of nonprofit organization completed Form 990 filed with the Internal Revenue Service, a total of 252 Asian organizations located in the 11 selected communities can be identified (Table 5, Figures 5.1,

5.2). Asian American organizing is most active in the city of Boston; 54 percent of these organizations are located here although 35 percent of the combined Asian American population resides in the city. Based on the number of Asian only population per Asian organization in the 11 cities, Boston, Lexington, Newton, Cambridge, and Somerville witness the most active Asian American community organizing. The last four are Asian American communities with high level of either human capital or financial capital, or both. As a group, Asian American communities with moderate level of either human capital or financial capital, or both --- including Brookline, Randolph, Malden, and Quincy, are least active in institutionalizing community organizing by forming Asian organizations, which are primarily nonprofit agencies. Why do most Asian organizations congregate in the “extreme” Asian American communities? An examination of the type of existing Asian organizations may provide an answer.

Asian American nonprofit organizations can be categorized into four types or functions: religion, cultural preservation, social and human services, and advocacy for Asian American interests. Figure 5.1 lists the distribution of Asian organizations of these types among Asian American communities at different levels of financial and human capital. Religious organizations like temples and churches are present in all but one of the 11 selected enclaves. Cultural organizations like ethnic language schools for children, benevolent associations, and traditional performing arts clubs are also prevalent in all the enclaves. Asian American religious and cultural organizations are organized primarily based on different ethnic groups. Asian American social service agencies and advocacy groups tend to have more Pan Asian American orientation. Advocacy groups here include organizations that can be considered a voice for the community --- for instance, various Asian American media agencies, or Asian American professional associations. The presence of Asian American service agencies and advocacy groups is the distinguishing feature among the 11 enclaves. As a group, Asian American communities with moderate to high level of financial and human capital,

namely, Brookline, Randolph, Newton, and Lexington, have no or very few social service agencies or advocacy groups. The other Asian American communities, all with low level of either financial or human capital, or both, have significant presence of service agencies and advocacy groups.

This divergence reflects the underlying differences in the need for intermediary organizations inherent in the levels of both types of capital across these Asian American communities. An Asian American community with individuals having adequate level of financial and human capital to participate economically and politically in society may not need separately coordinated collection actions other than to preserve some degree of cultural identity and to promote spiritual enrichment. This may explain the almost lopsided presence of Asian American religious or cultural organizations, but not service or advocacy agencies in Lexington, Newton, Brookline, and Randolph. The Asian American enclaves with low level of either financial or human capital, or both, may benefit from coordinated assistance since a large segment of the population may not be ready to participate fully in the economic and political affairs of society. Government assistance to a low-income Asian immigrant family may never reach the family if it does not know that such assistance is available, or if none in the family know enough English to inquire and apply for it. This may be the case for a large number of Asian Americans in Boston, Lowell, Lynn, Malden, and Quincy. The result is a more balanced distribution of the four types of Asian American organizations in these enclaves than in the four more financial and human capital rich Asian American communities. For Cambridge and Somerville, some of the service organizations and advocacy groups target residents outside the community itself --- for instance, adult Asian non-English speakers in the Boston Chinatown area, or homeland population in different parts of Asia.

[Table 4 and Figures 4.1, 4.2 about here]

Some of the Asian American organizations in the 11 enclaves have filed Form 990 as tax-exempt organizations. Registering with the US Internal Revenue Service as a 501c(3) nonprofit

organization and filing IRS Form 990 reflect the increasing scale and further institutionalization of the organizing effort. Nonprofits with annual revenue in excess of \$25,000 are required to file the Form 990. Only a small number of Asian American organizations in the city of Boston (primarily Chinatown and Dorchester) and the newer enclaves, 10 and 5 respectively, have achieved a level of scale and institutionalization to register as 501c(3) with the Internal Revenue Service and compile Form 990 for such organizations. Most of these Asian American organizations provide direct services to the residents in the community.

Although only a few Asian American organizations outside the city of Boston have reached a level of institutionalization as those inside Boston, Asian American residents in the suburban communities provide significant leadership to Asian American organizations in Boston, especially Chinatown. Based on the completed Form 990 information, 46 (68%) of the 68 listed board members of the 10 Boston Asian American nonprofits live outside the city. A similar pattern holds for Lexington and Newton, although in both cases, the information is based on only one nonprofit organization. But in the case of Lowell and Lynn, 33 (87%) of the 38 board members of three Cambodian American nonprofits live in the respective city. Two of the Boston nonprofits are Vietnamese organizations located in the Dorchester community on the south side of the city. The rest are primarily Chinatown-based organizations. The residential location of board members in these largest Asian American nonprofits suggest that Asian American community organizing draws on resources from the entire ethnic community beyond the nonprofit's immediate geographic area. For Lowell and Lynn, it so happens that most Cambodians in the region settled in these two cities.

The community development in the Cambodian American community of the Lowell and Lynn areas merits additional attention. Contrary to the free settlement of other immigrants to the U.S., the initial placement of Cambodian refugees in Lowell is a result of the U.S. Government resettlement policy to deal with the mass exodus of Southeast Asian refugee in the 1970-80s, with the support of

Massachusetts state government. Subsequent migration of Cambodian Americans from other parts of the U.S. also contributes to the current concentration of the population in Lowell and Lynn. Many in this population lived through traumatic and tragic life circumstances prior to resettlement, with long lasting impact on themselves and the next generation (Smith-Hefner, 1999). To assist this population in adjusting to a new environment, Cambodian mutual assistance associations were started with the direct support of the government. Some of these associations are still operational today in Lowell and Lynn. Thus, favorable public policies may substitute, at least to some degree, for the lack of financial and human capital among this first generation of refugees in jumpstarting community organizing in the Cambodian American enclaves. This may have contributed to the recent emergence of Cambodian American civic and community leaders.

### Community Organizing in Boston Asian American Enclaves

Community organizing involves only a small number of active participants, in contrast to populous participation as in voter registration. It is informative to examine how Asian American organizations work in action. Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to look into how individual organizations operate as in Yu (1992) or Vo (2001), an overview is possible at the community level. This section begins with a brief discussion of community organizing in Chinatown, and follows with comparing it to community organizing in the newer enclaves of Malden and Quincy.

#### *Chinatown community organizing and community development<sup>2</sup>*

Because of the concentration of Chinese Americans and other Asian groups and the history of settlement, community activism in Boston Chinatown has received the most attention. Before the mass

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<sup>2</sup> Please see Michael Liu (1999) for a detailed discussion about community organizing in Boston Chinatown during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. A significant portion of this section's discussion of Boston Chinatown is based on Liu's dissertation.

immigration beginning in the late 1960s or 1970s, community organizing in Chinatown centered on the activities of the traditional benevolent associations, which provided social, cultural, and even economic support for its residents, as well as served as the middleman between the Chinatown community and the mainstream society. A range of federal legislative initiatives in the 1960s not only opened up the country for more immigration, they also provided a more equitable legal environment for minorities and immigrants to participate in the economic and political life of society. The expansion of federal and state funded social services also prompted the creation of new Asian American service agencies like the Asian American Civic Association and the Greater Boston Golden Age Center. The monopoly of traditional associations over Chinatown affairs began to break apart.

Like many Chinatowns in other North American cities, Boston Chinatown is situated in close proximity to the central business district. There are competing demands for prime real estate inside and outside of Chinatown. Reactions to land use issue have dominated community organizing in Boston Chinatown during the last quarter of the twentieth century. This is not unlike the development in other cities with significant pockets of concentrated Asian American settlement like Monterey Park (Fong, 2001). Grassroots community organizing is a balancing force against land use determination based on market exchange values. Community organizing in Boston Chinatown has learned and grown. The strategies used have diversified from relying on the traditional associations' private consultations to employing more confrontational approaches by a newer generation of community activists. Even among the latter, they have diversified from direct lobbying and mass demonstration to utilizing the media, forming coalitions within and beyond the Chinatown community to take advantage of different group's expertise and strength. For instance, the strategy to bring in environmental concerns in land development projects has some success in Boston Chinatown as in other minority communities (Leong 1997; Diaz 2001). However, leadership has been composed of primarily non-resident activists who may work, but do not live, in the community. Local residents have been largely

followers. Although Chinatown issues may appeal to the larger Chinese-American community due to its centrality of cultural and retail activities, more active participation of Chinatown residents is central to the sustainability of community organizing in Chinatown. In spite of the limited success in reversing the negative impact of the growth regime to the community – especially regarding the lack of affording housing development, grassroots community organizing has successfully challenge the traditional association's monopoly of influence in the community. New generations of activists have provided at least an alternative voice for the non-business segment of the community. The rise of a new generation of Asian American community activists is not unique. For instance, the Los Angeles riots in 1992 ignited long lasting changes in the area's Korean American community. The older immigrant leaders failed to respond to the plight of Korean American small businesses adversely affected by the riots. A new generation of American born or 1.5 generation Korean Americans rose to speak on behalf of the community (Park, 2001).

Built upon the experience and creditability acquired over the years of countering institutional expansion in Chinatown, the new generation of activists continues to make progress in forcing more recent land development projects in and around Chinatown to attend to the needs of the community as a whole. Some example of the success include the development of a master plan for Chinatown development, the concession of a condominium project (Liberty Place) to provide more affordable housing unit, and a formal process to involve the Chinatown community in redeveloping adjacent land vacated by the central artery reconstruction project -- the Big Dig (Sampan, February 2003).

*Comparing Asian American Community Organizing in Boston Chinatown and the Newer Enclaves of Quincy, and Malden*

In contrast to the traditional urban enclave of Chinatown, community organizing in the newer Asian American enclaves in Quincy and Malden is still at its infancy. Some newer nonprofits are

struggling to establish a stable footing in the respective community. Community organizing is much more mature and complex in Boston Chinatown than in Quincy or Malden, because of the former's history and concentration of population. In 1997, there were 75 non-commercial Asian American organizations in Boston Chinatown (Liu, 1999), many of which were advocacy or social service agencies. The number has increased to more than 100 by 2001. There are about 10 Asian American community organizations each in Quincy, or Malden (AARW, 2001). This is not a surprising development. The series of land use disputes in the Chinatown area have gradually intensified community organizing in response. In the newer enclaves, there have been few external threats to the Asian American communities at similar scale and frequency. Community organizing in these new enclaves focuses primarily on meeting the cultural and social services needs of fellow residents, whereas the concerns in Boston Chinatown have moved beyond direct services to individuals and into community-wide issues like land use.

As Asian American residents in Quincy and Malden are more integrated than their counterparts in Chinatown, so are the community organizations. Recognizing the needs of the growing Asian American population in the two newer enclaves, some mainstream service agencies are involved in Asian American community organizing for the benefits of Asian-American new comers. This is a much more favorable environment than when the early Chinese immigrants moved to the Chinatown area a century ago. In the last 25 years, the city government of Boston aligned itself with the growth regime that adversely impacts the Chinatown community. On the other hand, city governments in Quincy and Malden support, if only symbolically, the respective Asian American community, either by arranging for recreational facilities or hiring bilingual staff members. The potential voting power of Asian Americans in these two communities may account for the difference in the support the Asian American community receives from the respective city government.

There is a tendency for Asian American community organizing to become more assimilated into mainstream approaches. Traditional associations in Boston Chinatown, like their counterparts in other North American major cities, rely mostly on informal means of influence. Their mode of operation is built on interpersonal relationship within and outside the community, rather than following a common set of rules of the game. This gives rise to outsiders' perception of secrecy regarding their operation. Lack of proper record keeping is a consequence of this mode of operation. In 2000, because of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association's failure to account for its finances, the Massachusetts state Attorney General won a court order to require the association hire an outsider to put its business in order (Sampan, January 19, 2001). The newer generations of activists in all these communities are college educated and employed in various professional occupations. They tend to adopt the mainstream modes of operation, not only in internal organization, but also in employing multiple and confrontational strategies to achieve their goals.

The geographic concentration of multiple groups within the 25 blocks of Boston Chinatown renders competition among them inevitable. The various land use disputes put business interests of attracting more customers as the side benefits of development projects in direct competition with making land available for housing development for residents. Thus, traditional associations in Chinatown, whose members hold various business interests in the community, and activists sympathetic to social service needs of the community are more often than not in opposition of each other. This conflict of institutional interests within the newer Asian-American enclaves is largely absent --- partly because of the absence of significant ethnic business establishments in these communities, partly because the ethnic residents here are much more dispersed than their counterparts in Chinatown. A significant portion of the leadership in Chinatown grassroots organizations comes from activists who do not live at Chinatown but may have work, social, or cultural tie with the community. In the newer enclaves, however, local Asian American residents themselves provide

much of the leadership. In both the traditional and newer enclaves, Asian-American community organizing share the same challenge as mainstream nonprofits in encouraging ethnic residents to take part in community affairs. .

[Table 5 and Figures 5.1, 5.2]

#### Asian Americans in political offices

Among all the modes of political participation, running for a political office is the finale. Although Asian American community activism is the most intense in Boston Chinatown, no Asian American has succeeded in getting elected to a city office. Like the case of New York's Chinatown (Saito, 2001), the location of an electoral district may impact Asian American representation on Boston city council as well. Among the 11 selected towns and cities in this study, there are 3 Asian Americans elected to city level offices and two others are school district board members. Chanrithy Uong is a Cambodian-American serving his second term as a city councilor in Lowell. Daniel Lam, a Vietnamese-American of Chinese decent, has just won re-election in 2003 to serve another term as one of three Randolph selectmen. Amy Mah Sangiolo is a first generation U.S. born Asian American serving her second term as an alderman in Newton. Ira Chan has just won a seat in the Brookline Public School Committee, replacing another Asian American, Terry Kwan, who retires from her seat after eighteen year. Fred Wang is the other Asian American on the same committee of nine members in a school district with 19 percent Asian American students (Sampan, May 2-16, 2003). All these office holders were elected the first time they were on the ballot. In two of the most populated Asian American enclaves, Quincy and Malden, Asian Americans have yet to win a city-wide election. In 2001, Jimmy Liang, a young Chinese-American entrepreneur ran in fifth among 6 candidates for 3 Quincy city councilor-at-large vacancies. Richard Cheng, a Chinese-American community activist and counselor/social worker, also failed to win a seat in the 2001 Malden city council election.

Factors covered in this paper are probably insufficient to explain the election of Asian Americans in local offices. Newton, Randolph, and Lowell, the electoral districts for the 3 incumbent Asian American city office-holders, include Asian American enclaves of three entirely different socioeconomic backgrounds. Asian American candidates may win, or lose, in any socioeconomic context of the ethnic community. Nor is the relative size of the Asian American population a guarantee for forming a winning coalition. Both Quincy and Lowell have about 15% Asian Americans in the respective population. Yet the Asian American candidate lost in Quincy but won Lowell. A more relevant winning coalition is one that includes the non-Asian American voters as well. The current Asian American office holders may also share similar personal factors with the candidates who have lost. For instance, a candidate's prior experience in community organizing might have contributed to the success of Chanrithy Uong in Lowell but not enough to help Richard Cheng in Malden. The extensive employment experience of Daniel Lam with state government might have established his credibility in running a local government, but the absence of it for Amy Mah Sangligo did not seem to hurt her chances. Electing Asian American to an elected political office in the Boston area may involve some combination of personal factors, structural factors, and idiosyncratic circumstances for each race. A more careful examining of this issue awaits further research. The experience of Asian Americans running for local offices in the Boston area in the last few years does show, however, that there is growing interest among Asian Americans to impact not only within the ethnic enclaves but also the larger community.

## Conclusion

Asian Americans in the selected Boston enclaves are increasingly active in multiple modes of civic and political participation. But there is quite a distance for them to catch up with the rest of the population. Having more resources in the form of financial and human capital would enhance Asian

American participation, as well as narrow the gap with the rest of the population. The pattern of Asian American community organizing varies with the needs of the individual enclaves. The more resourceful enclaves focus on cultural and spiritual enrichment alone, but they may provide significant leadership to other communities with fewer resources. The less resourceful enclaves balance the two with providing social services and a voice to help the community participate more fully in the economic and political affairs of the larger society. The lack of resources in community organizing can be offset by favorable public policies as in the case of Cambodian Americans in Lowell and Lynn. The case of the city of Boston demonstrates that active organizing at the collective community level may stimulate various forms of individual Asian American civic and political participation to a point far beyond the prediction based on the financial and human resources in the enclave.

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Figure 1. Financial and Human Capital in Selected Boston Area Asian American Communities

		<i>Level of Financial Capital<sup>1</sup></i>		
		Low	Moderate	High
<i>Level Of Human Capital<sup>2</sup></i>	High	Cambridge Somerville	Brookline	Lexington Newton
	Moderate	Malden	Randolph	
	Low	Boston Lowell Lynn	Quincy	

<sup>1</sup> Financial capital is measured by per capita income, and the level of home-ownership (see Table 1).

<sup>2</sup> Human capital is measured by the percent of Asian Americans with college and above educational attainment and percent of Asian Americans who speak an ethnic language at home as well as good or very good English (see Table 1).

Figure 2. Asian American Civic and Political Participation in Selected Boston Area Communities

		<i>Level of Financial Capital</i>		
		Low: Average (48%, 32.1%, 36.3%)	Moderate: Average (68.9%, 50.9%, 36.7%)	High: Average (77.5%, 52.2%, 41.4%)
<i>Level Of Human Capital</i>	High: Average (62.7%, 37.4%, 45.4%)	Cambridge (57.5%, 28.9%, 42.5%)  Somerville (44.6%, 33.6%, 40.5%)	Brookline (67.5%, 35.6%, 59.4%)	Lexington (75.7%, 51.1%, 56.5%)  Newton (78.3%, 52.9%, 34%)
	Moderate: Average (72.6%, 44%, 51.7%)	Malden (66.6%, 42.5%, 34.2%)	Randolph (85.6%, 64.7%, 38.3%)	
	Low: Average (54.7%, 40.4%, 30.1%)	Boston (62.8%, 41.4%, 34.1%)  Lowell (33.9%, 25.7%, 26.3%)  Lynn (60%,34.8%,20.6%)	Quincy (66%, 56.3%, 26.5%)	

Note: The percentages in each bracket are (town/city census participation rate, naturalization rate, voter registration rate)

Figure 3. Asian American Campaign Contribution to State Elected Offices in Selected Boston Area Communities

		<i>Level of Financial Capital</i>		
		Low	Moderate	High
<i>Level Of Human Capital</i>	High	Cambridge (0.2%, \$176; 0.5%, \$213)	Brookline (0.4%, \$124; 1.1%, \$207)	Lexington (1.3%, \$169; 0.7%, \$199)
		Somerville (0.3%, \$127; 1.0%, \$181)		Newton (1.1%, \$200; 1.9%, \$198)
	Moderate	Malden (0.1%, \$135; 0.2%, \$109)	Randolph (0.1%, \$106; 0.0%, \$50)	
	Low	Boston (0.5%, \$127; 0.8%, \$152)	Quincy (0.1%, \$108; 0.6%, \$174)	
		Lowell (0.0%, \$67; 0.3%, \$111)		
		Lynn (0.2, \$66; 0.2, \$125)		

Note: The numbers in each bracket are (1997-2000 annualized number of AA contribution as a percentage of AA registered voters, 1997-2000 average dollar amount of AA contribution; 2001-2003 annualized number of AA contribution as a percentage of AA registered voters, 2001-2003 average dollar amount of AA contribution)

Figure 4.2. Asian American Civic and Political Participation Parity with the Rest of the Population in Selected Boston Area Enclaves by Financial and Human Capital

		<i>Level of Financial Capital</i>		
		Low	Moderate	High
<i>Level Of Human Capital</i>	High	<b>Cambridge</b> (62%, 62%, 12%, 14%)  <b>Somerville</b> (54%, 62%, 33%, 75%)	<b>Brookline</b> (68%, 68%, 34%, 39%)	<b>Lexington</b> (76%, 75%, 62%, 24%)  <b>Newton</b> (78%, 89%, 18%, 22%)
	Moderate	<b>Malden</b> (71%, 55%, 15%, 13%)	<b>Randolph</b> (88%, 63%, 30%, 5%)	
	Low	<b>Boston</b> (70%, 65%, 33%, 24%)  <b>Lowell</b> (39%, 50%, 6%, 20%)  <b>Lynn</b> (66%, 34%, 61%, 24%)	<b>Quincy</b> (76%, 42%, 15%, 25%)	

Note: The percentages in each bracket are (city census parity ratio, voter registration parity ratio, 1997-2000 contribution parity ratio, 2001-03 contribution parity ratio).

Figure 5.1. Asian American Population per Asian American Organization in Selected Boston Area Communities

		<i>Level of Financial Capital</i>		
		Low	Moderate	High
<i>Level Of Human Capital</i>	High	Cambridge (433) Somerville (501)	Brookline (865)	Lexington (361) Newton (452)
	Moderate	Malden (985)	Randolph (1576)	
	Low	Boston (324) Lowell (1430) Lynn (737)	Quincy (934)	

Figure 5.2. Asian American Organizations in Selected Boston Area Communities

		<i>Level of Financial Capital</i>		
		Low	Moderate	High
<i>Level Of Human Capital</i>	High	Cambridge (5,9,9,3) Somerville (3,3,3,1)	Brookline (3,3,3,0)	Lexington (6,3,0,0) Newton (4,9,1,0)
	Moderate	Malden (2,2,2,2)	Randolph (0,2,0,0)	
	Low	Boston (13,33,38,37) Lowell (1,2,4,5) Lynn (3,2,0,3)	Quincy (6,2,4,3)	

Note: The numbers in each bracket are (no. of religious institutions, no. of cultural preservation organizations, no. of activist organizations, no. of service organizations.)

Table 1. Profile of Selected Boston Area Asian American Communities

	<b>Boston</b>	<b>Brookline</b>	<b>Cambridge</b>	<b>Lexington</b>	<b>Lowell</b>	<b>Lynn</b>	<b>Malden</b>	<b>Newton</b>	<b>Quincy</b>	<b>Randolph</b>	<b>Somerville</b>
Total population: Total	589,141	57,061	101,355	30,355	105,167	89,122	56,340	83,829	88,025	30,997	77,478
Total population: Asian alone	44,345	7,787	12,112	3,251	17,161	5,899	7,879	6,323	14,007	3,152	5,013
% of Asian alone	7.5%	13.6%	12.0%	10.7%	16.3%	6.6%	14.0%	7.5%	15.9%	10.2%	6.5%
Growth rate of API's 90-00	46.6%	62.7%	48.2%	76.5%	50.7%	81.4%	196.4%	68.0%	147.1%	90.8%	81.8%
Foreign Born Asian Americans	73.7%	73.6%	68.0%	70.6%	68.5%	66.8%	79.6%	64.0%	73.5%	73.1%	73.2%
Asian American Naturalization rate	41.4%	35.6%	28.9%	51.1%	25.7%	34.8%	42.5%	52.9%	56.3%	64.7%	33.6%
Asian American citizens	56.8%	52.6%	51.6%	65.5%	49.1%	56.5%	54.2%	69.8%	67.9%	74.2%	51.4%
Percent Chinese	44.3%	47.9%	40.3%	51.1%	3.8%	3.6%	57.1%	62.9%	67.8%	48.1%	37.3%
Percent Korean	5.8%	11.8%	15.8%	13.0%	0.8%	n.a.	3.2%	8.2%	1.8%	0.0%	9.3%
Percent Japanese	5.4%	17.8%	7.8%	6.5%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	5.5%	1.1%	0.0%	5.8%
Percent Asian Indian	10.0%	12.7%	22.6%	20.3%	14.0%	6.2%	12.2%	12.0%	8.3%	13.9%	27.3%
Percent Vietnamese	24.4%	1.5%	2.0%	n.a.	9.2%	19.4%	17.0%	2.8%	12.4%	22.8%	6.6%
Percent Cambodian	1.2%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	56.7%	53.2%	1.8%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Percent Laos	0.3%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	9.0%	4.4%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Percent "other Asians"	8.6%	8.4%	11.5%	9.1%	6.5%	13.2%	8.6%	8.6%	8.6%	15.2%	13.7%
Ethnic Homogeneity Index	0.28	0.30	0.26	0.33	0.36	0.35	0.38	0.43	0.49	0.33	0.25
% 18-64 AA's speak very good English	37.3%	52.8%	65.0%	57.5%	36.9%	32.6%	36.5%	52.6%	35.1%	34.6%	62.5%
% 18-64 AA's speak good English	29.4%	28.6%	26.4%	28.8%	31.7%	30.6%	32.6%	32.0%	29.5%	39.7%	26.4%
% 18-64 AA's speak little or no English	33.3%	18.7%	8.6%	13.7%	31.4%	36.7%	30.9%	15.5%	35.4%	25.6%	11.1%
AA Adults' (25+) Education Attainment											
% less than high school	35.7%	8.0%	6.8%	3.5%	45.3%	53.3%	29.9%	8.5%	31.9%	26.7%	17.4%
% high school graduates	15.9%	8.1%	5.3%	8.6%	18.1%	19.4%	14.4%	10.3%	20.6%	18.1%	10.3%
% some college + associate degree	11.3%	9.8%	7.1%	7.0%	12.4%	12.3%	13.1%	12.7%	16.4%	19.4%	12.3%
% college graduates and above	37.0%	74.1%	80.8%	80.9%	24.1%	15.0%	42.6%	68.6%	31.1%	35.8%	60.0%
AA per capita income 1999	\$15,513	\$28,730	\$21,066	\$36,177	\$12,729	\$10,764	\$18,894	\$32,796	\$17,287	\$20,952	\$19,311
AA persons under poverty line 1999	30.0%	17.1%	20.6%	2.6%	19.1%	22.6%	12.7%	8.2%	11.8%	4.2%	17.6%
Percent AA owner-occupied housing	20.9%	38.6%	18.7%	80.3%	30.1%	38.2%	40.9%	70.2%	53.8%	78.9%	24.9%

Note:

n.a. : N < 100.

Other Asians include ethnic groups with less than 100 population.

Ethnic Homogeneity Index = sum of the square of the proportion of each ethnic group identified

Sources: 1990 and 2000 US. Census

Table 2. Asian American Civic and Political Participation in Selected Boston Area Communities

	<b>Boston</b>	<b>Brookline</b>	<b>Cambridge</b>	<b>Lexington</b>	<b>Lowell</b>	<b>Lynn</b>	<b>Malden</b>	<b>Newton</b>	<b>Quincy</b>	<b>Randolph</b>	<b>Somerville</b>
No. of Residents (2000 US census)	589141	57061	101355	30355	105167	89122	56340	83829	88025	30997	77478
No. of residents 18+	472,582	47604	87908	22352	76826	64999	45102	66018	72644	23748	65983
Total citizens (non AA)	468,786	44,390	77,167	25,930	80,500	72,206	43,236	72,913	70,140	25,996	59,252
Total population: Asian alone	44,284	7,325	12,036	3,310	17,371	5,730	7,882	6,434	13,546	3,151	4,990
No. of Asian residents 18+	36,480	5938	10827	2198	10888	3422	6021	4812	10388	2,332	4210
Asian American citizens	25,200	4,096	6,253	2,128	8,422	3,332	4,273	4,415	9,514	2,339	2,576
No. of registered residents (18 yrs. +)	415513	51499	79271	24034	60389	57719	40614	69342	60807	22845	52631
No. of registered AA residents (18 yrs. +)	22904	4009	6228	1663	3688	2054	4009	3769	6859	1996	1876
% AA residents	5.5%	7.8%	7.9%	6.9%	6.1%	3.6%	9.9%	5.4%	11.3%	8.7%	3.6%
Asian American Naturalization rate	41.4%	35.6%	28.9%	51.1%	25.7%	25.7%	42.5%	52.9%	56.3%	64.7%	33.6%
AA response rate to city census	62.8%	67.5%	57.5%	75.7%	33.9%	60.0%	66.6%	78.3%	66.0%	85.6%	44.6%
Non-AA response rate to city census	90.0%	114.0%	94.8%	111.0%	86.0%	90.4%	93.7%	107.1%	86.7%	97.4%	82.2%
Number of registered AA voters	8590	2435	2659	1203	2215	686	1463	1503	2518	895	1042
Percent registered AA voters (citizens)	34.1%	59.4%	42.5%	56.5%	26.3%	20.6%	34.2%	34.0%	26.5%	38.3%	40.5%
percent AA Democrats	33.1%	34.3%	38.4%	26.4%	29.5%	31.2%	25.9%	23.0%	25.5%	19.7%	37.3%
percent AA Republicans	10.0%	9.6%	10.3%	12.4%	13.3%	15.5%	11.1%	13.5%	10.3%	11.8%	7.8%
percent AA Independents	56.2%	55.6%	50.7%	61.0%	56.3%	45.9%	62.3%	63.3%	63.4%	67.8%	54.3%
Number of registered non-AA voters	244275	38981	53316	19279	42480	44043	26922	27986	44654	15766	38675
Percent registered non-AA voters (citizens)	52.1%	87.8%	69.1%	74.4%	52.8%	61.0%	62.3%	38.4%	63.7%	60.6%	65.3%
percent non-AA Democrats	55.5%	45.9%	58.0%	41.5%	44.5%	46.5%	46.5%	47.1%	50.7%	47.6%	55.7%
percent non-AA Republicans	8.6%	10.7%	8.0%	16.0%	10.0%	7.8%	8.0%	12.9%	12.9%	8.0%	6.6%
percent non-AA Independents	35.1%	43.0%	33.0%	42.2%	44.7%	45.2%	44.8%	39.8%	34.7%	44.3%	36.7%

Sources: 2000 Census, Various city and town 2001 census, and Randolph 2003 census.

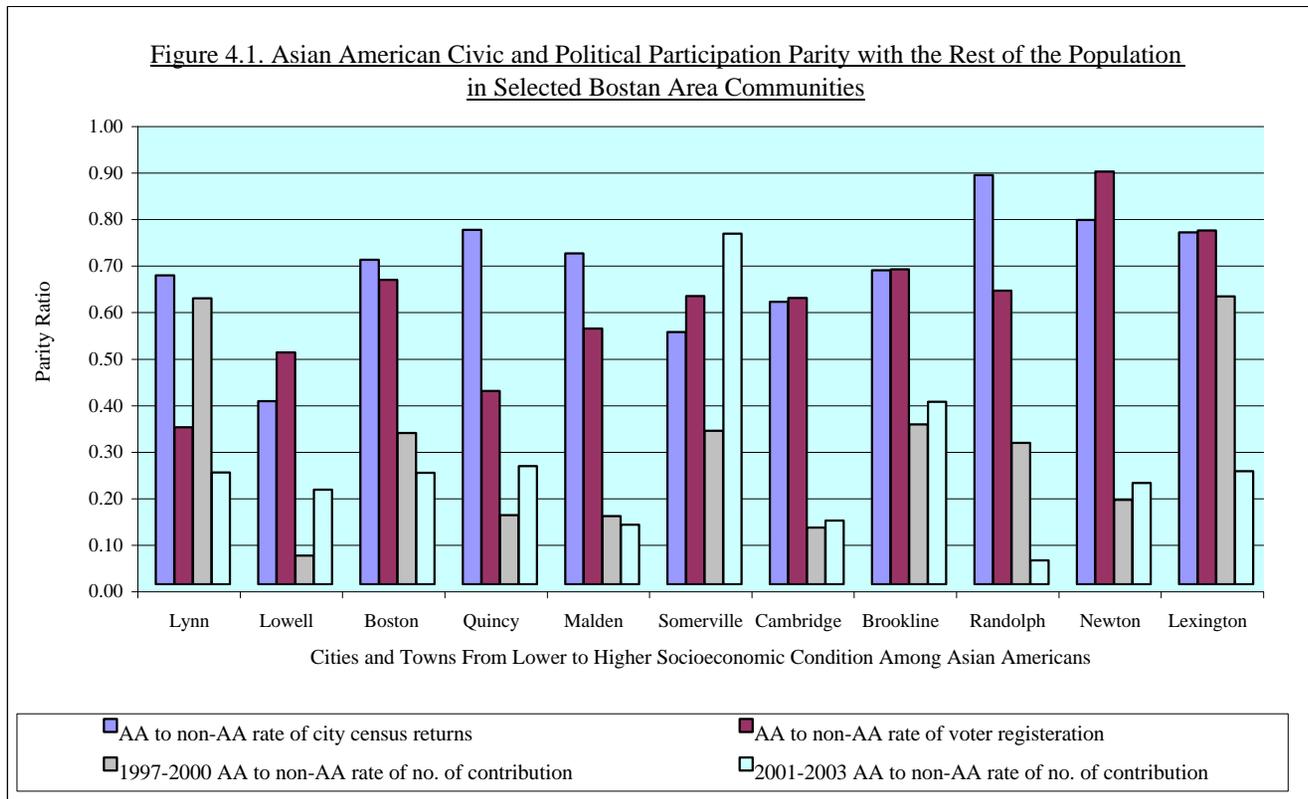
Table 3. Asian American Campaign Contribution to Massachusetts State Offices Candidates

	<b>Boston</b>	<b>Brookline</b>	<b>Cambridge</b>	<b>Lexington</b>	<b>Lowell</b>	<b>Lynn</b>	<b>Malden</b>	<b>Newton</b>	<b>Quincy</b>	<b>Randolph</b>	<b>Somerville</b>	<b>11 cities</b>
97-00 no. of AA Contributions	171	39	23	59	3	5	5	65	14	5	11	400
97-00 AA Average \$ Contributions	\$127	\$124	\$176	\$169	\$67	\$66	\$135	\$200	\$108	\$106	\$127	\$146
97-00 no. of non-AA Contributions	14951	1816	3775	1528	929	522	629	6676	1669	290	1238	34023
97-00 non-AA Average \$ Contributions	\$203	\$213	\$250	\$184	\$175	\$127	\$144	\$232	\$167	\$144	\$124	\$205
no. AA/nonAA ratio	1.1%	2.1%	0.6%	3.9%	0.3%	1.0%	0.8%	1.0%	0.8%	1.7%	0.9%	1.2%
\$ AA/nonAA ratio	63%	58%	70%	92%	38%	52%	93%	86%	65%	74%	102%	71%
2001- 2003 no. of AA contributions	166	68	36	22	15	3	6	71	35	1	27	450
2001 - 2003 AA average \$ contributions	\$152	\$207	\$213	\$199	\$111	\$125	\$109	\$198	\$174	\$50	\$181	\$176
2001- 2003 no. of non AA contributions	19726	2777	5279	1451	1414	801	861	6068	2446	342	1330	42495
2001 - 2003 non AA average \$ contributions	\$205	\$198	\$165	\$148	\$151	\$168	\$155	\$225	\$196	\$164	\$125	\$194
no. AA/nonAA ratio	0.8%	2.4%	0.7%	1.5%	1.1%	0.4%	0.7%	1.2%	1.4%	0.3%	2.0%	1.1%
\$ AA/nonAA ratio	74%	105%	129%	134%	74%	74%	70%	88%	89%	30%	145%	91%
no. of AA contribution/ no. of AA registered voters												
1997-2000 (annualized)	0.5%	0.4%	0.2%	1.3%	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%	1.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.3%	0.4%
2001-2003 (annualized)	0.8%	1.1%	0.5%	0.7%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	1.9%	0.6%	0.0%	1.0%	0.7%
no. of non AA contribution/ no. of non AA registered voters												
1997-2000 (annualized)	1.6%	1.2%	1.8%	2.1%	0.6%	0.3%	0.6%	6.2%	1.0%	0.5%	0.8%	1.5%
2001-2003 (annualized)	3.2%	2.8%	4.0%	3.0%	1.3%	0.7%	1.3%	8.7%	2.2%	0.9%	1.4%	2.9%

Source: Massachusetts Secretary of State Office of Campaign and Public Finance Website, Various city and town censuses.

**Table 4. Comparative Civic and Political Participation Between Asian Americans and the Rest of the Population in Selected Boston Communities**

	Lynn	Lowell	Boston	Quincy	Malden	Somerville	Cambridge	Brookline	Randolph	Newton	Lexington
AA to non-AA rate of city census returns	66%	39%	70%	76%	71%	54%	61%	68%	88%	78%	76%
AA to non-AA rate of voter registration	34%	50%	65%	42%	55%	62%	62%	68%	63%	89%	76%
1997-2000 AA to non-AA rate of no. of contribution	61%	6%	33%	15%	15%	33%	12%	34%	30%	18%	62%
2001-2003 AA to non-AA rate of no. of contribution	24%	20%	24%	25%	13%	75%	14%	39%	5%	22%	24%
Relative ratio of AA to non-AA percentage of Democrats	67%	66%	60%	50%	56%	67%	66%	75%	41%	49%	64%
non-AA percentage of Republicans	199%	133%	116%	80%	138%	118%	130%	90%	149%	105%	77%
non-AA percentage of Independents	102%	126%	160%	183%	139%	148%	154%	129%	153%	159%	144%



Sources: see previous tables

Table 5. Asian American Organizations in selected Boston area cities

	<b>Boston</b>	<b>Brookline</b>	<b>Cambridge</b>	<b>Lexington</b>	<b>Lowell</b>	<b>Lynn</b>	<b>Malden</b>	<b>Newton</b>	<b>Quincy</b>	<b>Randolph</b>	<b>Somerville</b>
No. of Asian Organizations	137	9	28	9	12	8	8	14	15	2	10
2000 Asian only	44,345	7,787	12,112	3,251	17,161	5,899	7,879	6,323	14,007	3,152	5,013
Avg. No. of AA served by one AA Org.	324	865	433	361	1,430	737	985	452	934	1,576	501
No. of Religious Organizations	13	3	5	6	1	3	2	4	6	0	3
No. of Cultural Organizations	33	3	9	3	2	2	2	9	2	2	3
No. of Service Organizations	37	0	3	0	5	3	2	0	3	0	1
No. of Activist Organizations	38	3	9	0	4	0	2	1	4	0	3
No. of AA NPOs w/ Form 990 info. on board members	10	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0
Total no.of CEO/board members	68	n.a	n.a.	9	26	12	n.a.	8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
from same city	22			3	24	9		2			
from different city	46			6	2	3		6			

Sources: The Massachusetts Asian Pacific American Directory 2001; completed IRS Form 990, 1998-99.